

This is an interview with Dr. Leo Jenkins conducted in Greenville, North Carolina on December 12, 1973 by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries. Mr. Jenkins is President of East Carolina University.

J.B.: What gubernatorial administration had the most lasting effect on North Carolina?

Jenkins: Well, it had to be Terry Sanford's administration, because it got into more facets of our life. Hodge's administration was business, piedmont-oriented, and the people in the east felt they weren't a part of this - at least, everyone that I had contact with. As a matter of fact, we even had a love feast down in Goldsboro with Hodges there, trying to let everybody know he does think something of the east. I think the feeling was that this part of the state did not quite comprehend the Triangle idea - the Research Triangle idea. They thought there was something that wasn't for them. And when the governor wanted support from this area, it was not forthcoming. And we felt strangers. Terry Sanford's administration took a definite look at public education, which was in a position then where something had to be done. He took a hard look at higher education and the community college system. And that has resulted in tremendous improvement in education at all levels. If we ever were to have a second educational governor, it would be Terry. The Dan Moore administration was one of planning, and whether the planning ever was fulfilled or not... But most problems were dealt with with a so-called planning committee, and life went on while we planned. Well, that answers your question. I think the Sanford administration.

J.B.: What do you think has been the lasting effect of that administration?

Jenkins: I think we're going to hear more and more about it, because, although the effects have not been seen now, I believe the younger people

got their feet wet in the Sanford administration... They felt at home there, the college students. I felt that way. I was chairman of his Bond Committee, which failed - for higher education. But the college students were so exercised about it, there were even planned - they marched on Raleigh - that type of thing. And we sort of discouraged it. But they felt a belonging with Terry, and his program in internships, for example, did not get too much publicity, but the college community knew about it and many of our bright young college people got into government by way of the internship program. Sanford was also very available to people. He was a governor that one felt at home with. And he'd be seen at the crossroads more often than any of the others during that period of time, that I know of. He was very liberal with his time, both day and night. And the people knew that we had a hard-working governor in Sanford.

J.B.: Tell me about the east in North Carolina. The east seems to be a region almost to itself, at least a feeling of...

Jenkins: I think it's a region that thinks it's been conned too many times. It's elected governors, all during this period of your study, the people would come down to Raleigh - the candidates would come down to Raleigh, about even. Whether it would be Gavin or any of the other Republicans who tried. They'd come to Raleigh even, and then they'd lose a tremendous block of votes in the east, here. And the east has been the salvation of the Democratic party. And yet when the east wanted things, they felt they were neglected in their highways. We are the only state on the Atlantic Seaboard that does not have a major highway to our ports. The Medical School is another illustration. The problem is more acute in the east than any other part of our state. As a matter of fact, it's more acute than any other part of the nation. When we started the medical program, I was trying to get sufficient modern medical care by way of

increasing the number of family-oriented doctors into the east. But we soon discovered after studying it, that no region in America had a problem quite as acute as eastern North Carolina. And yet, during this ten-year struggle almost every trick in the book has been used to defeat it. We got into subjective measuring and getting into the area of there isn't quality. Well, how would one know if they didn't study it? It's one of these superficial remarks. And the east has resented it. And...

J.B.: Does the east sort of feel like a step-child?

Jenkins: Definitely so. There's no question about it. They felt they weren't... Although they were the birthplace of the state, and the great leadership that made this state what it is today came from the east, the east as a region feels that it's more an outside party. And we're trying to convince the rest of the state that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. And we're going to pump money into Raleigh and take more out, and the piedmont with all of its wealth is going to pump money into Raleigh and take less out, unless there's something done to equalize the situation. Per capita income that is low for this entire state is because of what's happening in the east, I think. We are also seeing the statistics on modern medical delivery. The statewide statistics are bad because of the east, you see. And I feel this region wants a bigger piece of the action, in view of the fact that it's played such a significant role, particularly with the Democratic party.

J.B.: Now, the 1972 elections, Republicans for the first time in this century won the governor's office and a U.S. Senate seat. And primarily because of the shifting voting patterns in eastern North Carolina.

Jenkins: That's right. Because the Democratic party got itself horribly divided. Not only in the gubernatorial race, but in the presidential race,

the congressional... I mean, the senatorial race. We had a candidate who won the primary, and then immediately set out to, not attack, but have real things to say, or unkind things to say, about the leader of the party, namely the governor at that time. He didn't want to be associated too closely with our governor. That's a tremendous... that's a great mistake, to start off with. If one can't say something kind about the leader of the party, he at least keeps his mouth shut, rather than going out talking against him. Secondly, he did not want to... Some of his people - I don't know if he was involved - but many of the Bowles people did not want to be associated with the Taylor people. That's another great mistake. If you don't want... The Taylor people thought, if you don't want us, then we'll either go fishing or take a look at the other party. And then, of course, we had a very unpopular - in terms of eastern North Carolina - a very unpopular presidential candidate. I had him as a guest at my home for a reception. I invited many of the townspeople, and, frankly, with only a few exceptions, the entire evening was devoted to entertaining college students. And he was very popular with college students. But very few of the citizens in town, the non-college community, came to the reception, which is unusual. Generally they would come to any reception that we have. We generally get more people than we invite. This was a rare exception. So we had three things. And then we had Nick Galifianakis, who was not too popular with the people in the east because he was bucking a very popular news columnist in the radio... television. Jesse Helms. And Jesse had a big following in the Democratic party, because he came... his credentials are from the Democratic party. But he was unhappy with the party, and thought he could find happiness in another party, and went on that ticket. So we had, really, an old friend running. So we had a split in the senatorial race. We had a split in the gubernatorial race. And we had a very unpopular presidential candidate. And then,

in addition to that, we had a very popular black person running against L. H. Fountain, which changed things over. Because many of the people who voted for Lee, I suspect, went on and voted for Holshouser.

J.B.: So do you view the 1972 outcomes, Republican victories, as anomalies, as freaks, or as...

Jenkins: It was a left-handed victory. I don't think the people were for the Republicans so much as they were against what we were offering. They resented the split.

J.B.: You don't see it as a big shift in political attitudes, then?

Jenkins: No, I think many of them will come back again. As a matter of fact, Jesse Helms does not consider himself a Republican senator. He says that I am a North Carolina senator because I was put here essentially by the Democratic vote - which is true. He wouldn't have made it without the Democratic vote.

J.B.: To what do you attribute the relatively low turnout?

Jenkins: I think that it was due to the fact that the people who desired to be loyal to the party just couldn't buy some of the shenanigans. So rather than turn Republican they just didn't vote. I know many Taylor people who took that route. They just didn't feel like they wanted to be Republican, but they were not going to vote for someone who split the party. And I feel that there was a great feeling that both of our candidates in the Democratic party were ill-advised by whoever set up their public relations programs. And then we resented it as a people. The college community resented it. For example, they had Pat Taylor - and I don't know who, the person I'm talking about, I don't know whoever advised him on this. But whatever public relation firm advised him to play the role of a Roy Rogers hick - it was not marketable in the east. I believe they thought it would be very marketable that he would put his head to the

ground, and not look at the camera, and misquote words, or mispronounce words purposefully.

J.B.: You're not talking about Bowles?

Jenkins: No, I'm talking about Taylor now. To mispronounce words, drop the "g" from words. They thought that'd be a very popular Roy Rogers type of approach that we'd all buy. But we found it rather insulting.

J.B.: Patronizing?

Jenkins: Patronizing. People said, "Who in the heck is he kidding with this type of thing?" People from out of state would come and jokingly say to me, "Where'd you get this fellow from?" And I'd have to remind them that he is, indeed, a highly educated man. Seven years of higher education in North Carolina. And he's no... buffoon that they portrayed him as. Now, the other fellow came on so strong with the p.r. stuff until the last of the campaign. He was god blessing us to death, almost. On every occasion, it was "god bless you." And we thought, well, why that approach? Why doesn't he just stick to the issues? But the big thing was, the fact that they would not close ranks after the primary. We had the so-called "dark meat/light meat" luncheon in this town, and the candidate, Skipper, is alleged to have said - I didn't go to the meeting - but he said he'd "heard if one goes to a banquet, he's served light meat or dark meat. Well, I want you to know, those who were with me in the beginning are going to get all the white meat, and if there's any left, the Taylor people can have it. As a matter of fact, if our people who want even black meat, the Taylor people will wait for the black meat." Well, they thought it was cute, but several people I know left the meeting, and they said they'd never go back to a Bowles rally again. He did not want help, which he desperately needed in the east, because we knew he was in trouble down here. I offered to throw a dinner for him for 10,000 people, which could easily have been done. We

had enough organization to have such a dinner. We had one almost that large for Scott. And we would have had people from each county coming. He didn't want that. I offered to have a dinner in our home so that the academic community could come there, and we'd get publicity statewide, because he wasn't associated too closely with the academic community - which is a large vote in this state. He didn't want that, because he thought it would put him too close, or obligated, to me, from what I got through rumors. Well, we finally ended up having a luncheon. I had a luncheon for him at the Country Club. But I told him that having the luncheon at the Country Club doesn't have much mileage to it in terms of a political campaign, because anyone can go to the Country Club and have a luncheon. So, as a result, the television people did not show up. At my house there would've been four stations there. I think we'd have had as many as six or seven stations covering him on the big dinner, if he wanted it, but he didn't need it. He thought he had it made anyway. So, as a result, the luncheon at the Country Club. We had the same problems we had for the governor. It was a beautiful day, no threat of rain or anything. And many of my friends called and said that they couldn't make it for other reasons, or they were obligated other places, which were just excuses. And then when we went to the football game, I introduced Galifianakis and he got quite a large ovation because he was strong with college people. I introduced Bowles, and got quite a bit of booing. So that was another signal that things weren't right. That's a good cr... 15,000 at a football game, or 20,000 - I think we had a large crowd that day, about 20,000 - that size crowd gives some indication of what people are thinking based on their reaction. When one candidate is highly cheered and one is booed. So a split in the party is your answer, but I took too long to tell you.

J.B.: A number of people say that the senate race boiled down to the fact that the race issue was decisive. Would you agree with that, as far as Helms' victory is concerned?

Jenkins: No. I think Helms had a built-in following. Anyone who is on the television, on the radio, from the mountains to the coast, for years and years, and who is saying the things that the conservative east wants to hear, and has been saying them for a long time, he's almost a household personality. He was like Dedman was, before him, on the radio. Everyone knew Dedman, he was a personality in his own right. Well, Jesse Helms was popular statewide; his name was known by everyone. Galifianakis was a congressman in one district, and some of the issues that Nick was associated with were either unknown or carried little mileage in the east. For example, women's lib... meant very little in terms of a big solid vote. The people... the women that I've met in the east are people who pride themselves on being mothers and wives, and couldn't care less for a sophisticated approach to women's lib. It just carries no mileage with them. The young vote was just emerging then, and many of the college students that cheered Nick didn't register, or didn't stay around for the voting when the voting period came. And Jesse appealed to a very strong element in our society, namely, the senior citizen. Because the senior citizen took time out to listen to him on the radio and watch him on television, and this is a very significant vote in North Carolina. So, in Jesse's case, it was not a Republican versus a Democrat, but it was a man. They were voting for Jesse Helms, period. And they weren't voting for Nick Galifianakis. And I think there was a slight touch of the WASP philosophy here, and I told Nick this when he was going to be a candidate. He came to my home and discussed the advisability of being a candidate. I said, "Nick, whether we like it or not and whether we - and we're not



condoning it, we're stating a fact - this still is a WASP society. And the very name Galifianakis is not going to be an asset in many communities." So I said, "Therefore, you've got to give in and let it be known that you are indeed a North Carolinian." I said, "Let it be known you are a Marine, which wouldn't hurt you, anyway. You ought to let it be known you are a lawyer. All of these things. You're a professor. But to many people, Galifianakis is just a foreign name with some foreigner coming in." Well, that would not be true of Orange County, but it would be true of some of the rural areas. And I think that was revealed, because he was bucking a fellow who was well-known, his face was well-known. If not his face, his voice, most certainly.

J.B.: But how significant was it Helms was associated with a basically conservative position on race?

Jenkins: I think that played a part. If anything, it probably cost him some votes, but in like manner it gained him... it gained him more than it cost him. But I don't think that was the big issue. I think the popularity of the man on all issues, not just on bussing or something of that type, but on farm programs and tobacco programs and any type of program. He was just well-known and well received. And his following was not exclusively conservative. I think there are many middle of the road people who are for Jesse Helms. And I think there are many liberals who are for him.

J.B.: What would be his appeal... how does he appeal to voters?

Jenkins: Well, I think if you get away from the race thing, I think Helms' idea... some of his stepping in on the part of the federal government that Helms opposed, the moving in on our society. I think the liberals are beginning to feel likewise. In other words, they weren't great champions of Helms, but they said, in effect, probably on many occasions, "Well, I'll be darned. I'm not a great fan of this fellow,

but I think he makes sense here, and I think he makes sense here." He was creeping in that element. And I don't think that the black defeated him. I mean, the black were, as a race, completely opposed to Jesse. I don't buy that. Of course, I don't know. I don't know how all the black voted, any more than anyone else does.

J.B.: When Key wrote his book, he said that to... basically, he said that to understand Southern politics, you must understand the politics of race. Do you think that's still the case, or has that changed?

Jenkins: No, I think it's changing. And the reason I say that, 25 years ago one would not see more than a token black person at a barbecue rally, a pig picking, where the politics really take place. A meeting of men and women out into the woods somewhere, where everybody's brother who is in politics would find out about it and be there, large numbers of people I'm talking about now. It'd be rather rare to find a black person. Now, it's rare when they aren't there. We see good numbers of black people at these things. I think that the black person has gained a great deal of respect because of his success in municipal offices. I think that a fellow like Lee, out of Chapel Hill, will receive many white votes in our society, that he wouldn't have 25 years ago, or 20 years ago.

J.B.: Can he do that in a statewide race, say, for lieutenant governor?

Jenkins: No, I think he would still have trouble in a statewide race. I think that the movement has not been as far as it has in some of the cities. I think we're going to find our first breakthrough in a congressional race. It might well be in a congressional race. If there are two or three other candidates in there, Lee might well do it. L. H. has a great deal going for him. He's been there 20 years. He owns a good radio station, has a strong following. One of his... and I was with him the night he was elected for the first time. We spent the night together. I urged him to

get back into his district and campaign. And he said, "Well, if he hasn't got it won by now, he never will. Can't get any more votes now." As a matter of fact, we had a meeting of young Democrats on the campus, and he came to speak, although there would be no votes for him here. We're not in his district. But 20 years ago, he said no congressman should stay there more than 20 years. He was referring to the man that he was running against, Kerr. That statement may well come back now to haunt him, because he's in his 21st year now. Some people are kidding him about it now, I understand. People have kidded me about it. They say, well you're a good friend of Fountain. His 20 years are up. Do you remember what he said 20 years ago?" And I say, "Well, we can't carry promises quite that far."

J.B.: One of the questions we hear asked is whether or not Leo Jenkins is going to run for governor in 1976.

Jenkins: Well, Lord only knows what'll happen by '76, but as of now, I'm thinking very seriously of doing it. And my reasons are no secret. I think the only way we're going to get the many things we need here in the east is by having someone up there to explain it to the rest of the state. And there's no question but this ought to be a medical center here. See, eastern North Carolina - and I sound very regional when I say this - but we are, if I'm not mistaken, in population larger than about fifteen states. In geography, we're larger than about nine or ten states. Therefore, all of the things that these states have, we ought to have. Big stadium, roads to our ports, you know what I'm talking about, medical center. And fortunately for us, we have the money to do it. We have the will to do it. It's something that people want. Now, the excuse that's often given is, well, you don't have the people to man these things you're talking about. We have 20 young people apply for every seat in the medical school. I can't buy this idea that there's no talent among

black, that we can't find black students in medical school. I think if we went out seriously and looked for... expanded our program here and looked for, let us say, fifteen or twenty blacks to enter med school, we'd have no trouble finding them. If we went out and looked for them. That's the type of thing. I think that we ought to move ahead and do the things that we can do. Now, I think it's a compliment that folks have brought this to my attention. I think the west and the piedmont is not anti-east. Now, the newspapers paint it that way, because it makes good copy, and they know it makes good copy. But it's very difficult for me to understand, if that be the case, that I'd get a standing ovation in Charlotte at the biggest civic club in North Carolina. Why? Not Leo Jenkins, but some of the things that we've been standing for down here. I think it's a way of showing respect for what we're trying to do. So if conditions permit and I can retire in '76, rather than go fishing, I might well go into politics. Now, I'd go into politics, however, with this definite promise: that I would do everything I could to help the winner, if I am not the winner of the primary. I think every candidate ought to pledge that before it starts and the Democratic party ought to close ranks. Secondly, I hope that it's a wide open primary. I hope at least ten people get into the primary. I'd like to see Ramsay in there, and Hunt... if I go in... a black person in there, just so he can try it for size and see whether a black person could make it statewide. I think we ought to have as many people as possible. Then, we can say as a party, we've given everyone a chance. This is no clique, no little gang somewhere. Everyone had a chance. But we all ought to pledge right from the beginning that the winner take all, and any man who won't pledge this ought to be abandoned by the party before the primary starts. And it ought to be known before the primary

starts. If here's a fellow who will not play the game of winner take all. Is that too tough?

J.B.: I certainly don't have to tell you that the medical school is controversial, but... and there's some criticism, of course, that you're trying to circumvent the Board by going....

Jenkins: Well, what do you think the Board is, other than a creature of the legislature? It's an agency of the legislature. Am I wrong in political science to say that, number one, the people have an inherent right to take all of their problems to their representatives? Isn't that what democracy in America is all about? It's an inherent right. Therefore, if people elect to go to the legislature and say, "Now, lookit, we don't like what your chosen Board is doing and we want you to either change it, or we want you to handle this problem. Because we have a problem. And that problem is we don't get medical care, sufficient modern medical care." Now, no one debates that point. The most severe critic of the medical school here does not debate the fact that there's insufficient modern medical delivery service in North Carolina. That... even the fellows who survey these things. Now, the legislature, in turn, does not have to ask permission of any subordinate appointed body or any agency, to say, "May we consider the medical question?" That isn't what democracy is all about. Thirdly, if you talk politics in a cruel way, how does one get on there other than through a strong political campaign? I spent a whole day buttonholing people on behalf of Cannon. And other people have done it on behalf of other people. You don't think Luther Hodges, Jr. got in there just because they looked in Charlotte and said, here is the brightest little young man in Charlotte? Or do you think a little campaign went on in the background? The thing is, 's in polifics. But let me hasten to

add, what isn't, in our society? I voted on 22 ballots to elect a Methodist bishop at the conference. Between each ballot, I was buttonholed by people, and politicking and so forth, trading. If you help us from Florida, we'll help you from North Carolina, and then Tennessee got in the act, and all this business. So that's what politics is all about. We're not going to round anyone. We're asking people to reflect the world of our people. I'd like to see it put on a referendum, see what happens.

J.B.: What's your response to the comment that the Board is charged with... basically, with setting policy? And that if in fact you win your fight to expand the medical school here, it would in effect mean the end of the Board as a functional agency?

Jenkins: No, it won't mean the end of the Board at all. I think it would...

J.B.: It'll certainly gravely undercut it.

Jenkins: No, it wouldn't undercut it. It would give it, in the future...

It would do its homework, and keep its ear... It represents the people.

Now, let me say, this is a spoke. We're supposed to be 16 equal branches of the University. Do you know that the overwhelming majority of the members of that Board belong to one branch? Either through their spouse, through alumni, or through other connections. As a matter of fact, out of 32, over 20 are directly associated with one spoke. Or, if you want to spread it a little bit, with the old Consolidated University. They're definitely connected with it, some 21 or 2 of them. Now, we had no representation on there. State has but two representatives on there, you see. Therefore, it's a situation there where you don't have broad and wide representation. You have one spoke running the show. And I think that's got to be corrected. Now, I would say this, I would recommend that the legislature in the future say that no university in the system may have more than one person directly associated with that university on the Board.

Either as an alumni, as alumnus or alumnae, or as spouse of same. Now you say, well that... We say to the legislature, not one member of the legislature or their spouse may be on this Board. We say to state employees, no state employee may be on this Board. Now, why shouldn't we go on and say no member of one of the spokes may be on this Board, if we want to have a good, wide, broad representation? Because the way it is now, the Board - and I kid Bill Friday about this, it's no secret - the University has an automatic majority, an automatic majority. They can caucus and decide, well, here's what we're going to do, regardless of the arguments, whether they be good or bad or indifferent. Here's the way we vote, with a built in majority. And they follow this caucus. Now...

J.B.: Now, let me... are you saying that they actually do this or that they could do this?

Jenkins: No, this could be done. It's alleged that it is done. Now, I can't prove it's done simply by some people who know... say it is done. And I - here again, I said to President Friday - this would be a terrible thing, to have this closed door caucus. Whatever you do, if that leaks out, it's bad. He agreed with me. Whether it's done or not, it's alleged to be done. Now, in addition to that, you have, if I'm not mistaken, about four or five lobbyists. There ought to be a law that no registered lobbyist may serve on a Board, or an agency, or a commission in North Carolina. Because a registered lobbyist is not a free man, in terms of policy, in terms of government. If he's working for a certain company, he's going to do what that company asks him to do, or he's not going to work for it any longer. And we have people there - I could name them - six that I know of, who are definitely registered lobbyists.

J.B.: Could you name them?

Jenkins: Yes. Buchanan's a lobbyist; Tom White's a lobbyist for the

tobacco industry. Jordan's a lobbyist - John Jordan's a lobbyist for many things. My good friend Pete Taylor's a lobbyist. Oh, I could go on, but that's... gives you an illustration. You could find out yourself by going to Thad Eure's office, because Thad has a list of all registered lobbyists. I think you ought to do that as part of your research. Now how could you expect - they're good friends of mine, and some of them vote in favor of East Carolina every time. But we also know - I've seen lobbyists work, and I know that if the people who hired them say, "Now, we find this distasteful to us, for you to be for this medical school," I think the man would have a choice of giving up maybe a \$60,000 or \$70,000 account or voting the way his people want him to. Now, the state ought to protect itself from this type of thing.

J.B.: Can you explain for me the power the east has in the legislature?

Jenkins: Yes, because the east returns its people constantly, and they get to know the functioning of the legislature. And it takes at least a term or two for one to really know how it... who it rules, how it rules, and how things are done and how things are not done. The piedmont area, particularly Charlotte, is often so involved in other issues, local issues, city issues. They're often involved in a struggle to compete with Atlanta, in terms of prestige, in terms of greatness, and so forth, that they lose sight of North Carolina. Therefore, with few exceptions, different people represent them constantly. They do not come down as a unit. And when they come down as a unit, they don't come down as a solidified unit. They come down as individuals, some Republicans, some Democrats. Some Democrats of one persuasion, some of the other. Well, those in the east here generally have a continuity of purpose, a continuity of program. Also, the people in the east get together more often and talk about these things. Because



barbecues and pig pickings and meetings are held constantly here in the east. And the same people appear each time, the people from the legislature. And also, we're small enough here for us to be... have the legislators more accessible. It's not unusual for a fellow to call a legislator here, and get to see him within minutes or two notice. That in the big city does not happen too often, because of the very bigness of it.

J.B.: So basically it comes up to experience and unity?

Jenkins: Experience and unity and also the ability to realize the need for swapping, the need for trading, the need for assisting. It's not unusual for a man in the east to be very strong for a program that is definitely western oriented.

J.B.: Did re-apportionment cost the east seats in the legislature?

Jenkins: Yes, but not power.

J.B.: ... In spite of having not lost power.

Jenkins: The east... the fellows in the east with this experience, and those who are... even are new there, are people who are not new to politics. They've been apprenticed in other roles quite a bit. They recognize the need and the value in recognizing other problems. Almost everything we've done, we've done it with the help of the west. University status with the help of the west.

J.B.: What do you feel is the potential of the Republican party in the east, especially insofar as recruiting Democrats to the Republican party?

Jenkins: If we remain split, I think we're going to strengthen the Republican party. No question about it. Because people like to be at home with a solid, going concern. The extent to which the Republican party itself is split, however, might be a factor that will neutralize this. The Bennett/Roush<sup>2</sup> fight, I'm sure, has left some scars, probably

many scars. I think that the leadership behind the Republican party understands where the votes are. They understand the needs of the people. I think Rouse <sup>E</sup> speaks and so does Bennett, in many things they say, regarding the med school, regarding highways, regarding so many things. They both speak with one voice, that they're in favor of it. And they're in favor of it not only because it's a good thing and it's a right thing, but I also think they know where the votes are.

J.B.: How about Holshouser on the med school?

Jenkins: Well, I can't understand the position that he's taken, because his idea of these - not the A- , not thing we're talking about, but the other type of health center, with the paramedical work. I don't think you can equate a paramedical person with an M.D. You aren't supposed to. One spends three or four years learning his trade, the other spends fourteen to fifteen years learning his trade. And to say... and the best way to answer it is to say, which would you prefer for your children? I would say this to the governor. Which would he prefer? If a child woke up screaming in the middle of the night, would he prefer a nurse or an M.D.? The answer's simple. And...

J.B.: Do you see eastern North Carolina reverting back to the Democratic party?

Jenkins: I think on the med school, the med school might be one issue that might bring us together. Because I've seen a tremendous amount of solidarity emerging from the med school program. Not only the med school, but the whole idea of medical care. Because, you get back to what I told you before, the senior citizen is the big force. He's the big force in the east. Not only in numbers, but I think most studies will show that the son and daughter tend to go along with the father and mother. ONce in a while there's a rebel in the family, but most cases, if you were to check the voting patterns,

you will find that they will go along with the mother and father. And the mother and father is going to go... The mother and father is going to watch issues and listen to issues. Now, we saw that in liquor by the drink. It carried in 97 counties, which means the Country Club crowd that was making so much noise didn't find its way to the ballot box. The young people who are a little vociferous here and there didn't find their way to the ballot box. But the senior citizen did, and he was the quiet fellow who was pondering this issue. And it was obvious to those who were studying politics, that this was going to be an issue that was going to be defeated badly. And it was, liquor by the drink. Defeated in 97 counties, as you know.

J.B.: Key, in his book, said that North Carolina was a more progressive state than the others, the rest of the South, that is. Sort of stood out in the South for being more progressive about race relations, about better government services for the people. This was 25 years ago. And yet since that time, North Carolina has not improved its relative position on indices of...

Jenkins: Of anything, almost.

J.B.: educational attainment, per capita income, other indexes of social conditions. Was Key wrong on that?

Jenkins: No, I think on that... when I look around, Virginia's been more progressive in trying to get modern medical delivery. So has Alabama. Tennessee is working very hard to do something about it. I think that we have permitted a power structure to develop within the party and within the state that has become rather callous and rather tough. And we're going to have to do something about it, or we're going to have to let the Republican party take over. Because I do feel that it's a small group, surrounding itself a little bit with some of the Chapel Hill crowd.

It's gone to such an extent that a handful of people there, as you know, control newspaper policy, write their own editorials. I can almost predict an editorial. I can make a speech for a Wednesday, and write the editorial for Friday. Just... I know their mind, on these editorials, grew out of - on the medical school - grew out of the action taken by the legislative committee. And I told my friends, I said... They said, "There'll be an editorial tomorrow." I said, "No, there won't be an editorial tomorrow. There'll be one Sunday, their idea being that people sit at home and read the paper more on a Sunday." And it was the same junk that looked as though it originated from someone in the Chapel Hill campus. Because I don't think anyone in that office... I mean, anyone in Chap... in Raleigh, had enough sense to write such an editorial, because they wouldn't have had knowledge of the thing. That type of thing, I think, is holding us back quite a bit. It's revealed itself in a fear of the union movement, the resentment of the union movement, Wilbur Hobby's movement, which is now emerging...

J.B.: What role do you see unions playing in North Carolina politics in the future?

Jenkins: I think they're going to play a growing role, a stronger role, as time goes on, each year a stronger role. For this reason, the blue collar man associates himself with the poor farmer. I don't mean the big landowner, the poor farmer. They both realize they are, in effect, the suckers in our society today. The idea of increasing the price of gas, for example, in order to do something about the energy shortage. Who suffers there? The real person to suffer is the blue collar man and the poor farmer. The wealthy fellow will spend a buck more on his gas and get it, or he'll use one car instead of two. And therefore this person really has no place to turn except once in a while to a voice that's

trying to do something for them. And I think... I think that the union people are going to endorse our med school. And have, not will, they have. Because they feel that they are going to be the beneficiaries. If I say "they," the worker, the fellow in the street, fellow in the factories, fellow in the store.

J.B.: Do you see a single leader emerging in the Democratic party?

Jenkins: Well, not now. That's why I said before, I hope we have a wide open primary... (Interruption in tape.) There are several people with followings, and I think the best way to bring the Democratic party together is for all of these people to get equal time in our various functions, and to have as many as want to run in a primary. With that solid pledge, as I mentioned before, that we all close ranks and knock ourselves out for the winner. Winner take all. We won't go fishing or go on a vacation. We'll dig in immediately the next morning and work for the winner of the primary.

J.B.: Do you think a leader will emerge after the '76 election?

Jenkins: I think such a person will be our leader, if we get behind him. Because he's gone through the mill, he's tested himself among everyone else as he became our winner. And we ought to make our winner an out and out winner this time. See, it's facetiously said - I didn't hear Bob Scott say this - but facetiously, some people told me that he said that if Skipper didn't stop talking, he said, he might come out and be for him. And he laughed, of course. Skipper thought Scott's being for him would hurt him. Well, we can't have that in the Democratic party if we're going to have any strength. (Interruption in tape.)

J.B.: Is there anything else about North Carolina politics that we didn't cover that you'd like to comment on?

Jenkins: Well, I think we've got... this isn't politics, but if you

why aren't we moving faster... This state has an awful lot to offer. This is really the last frontier of Americana as we know it... it never existed the way we know it in our mind, but we think it did. The so-called "good old days." You have relative security in our little cities down here. Now, you read about robberies and so forth, but relatively... I can walk downtown. Every night I do it, and not fear. And my friends do it. We have the last of the pure water, almost. We have the last of the relatively pure air. We have a heritage of kindness to people. There's a tremendous outpouring here, anytime anything happens. You don't get a callousness. There's an outpouring of helping people. And we do know this, that whenever people move in here, no matter what company it is, after they're here for a year we can ask a stock question: "Are you glad you're here?" "Would you rather go back?" And invariably, invariably, they say, "Hell, no. We love it here. We'll not want to go any other place but here." And people who move away from here try to get back. The wishbone expresses coming South again, so to speak. Folks are wanting to get back here. Now, we ought to capitalize on that, and we haven't found the gimmick to use in bringing this out. Our big problem in eastern North Carolina, politically, is going to be that of attacking the infrastructure. We've been hitting one little piece of society at a time. That's why I'm trying to get a stadium here. We've got to have big-time athletics just because they exist in America, you see. That's why we have rowing here. Why? Because it exists in America. And I think there's a feeling on the part of our people, "Gosh darn it, if the Democrats can't do this for us, then I think Republicans can." And I think, frankly, if I were a Republican, I'd be on top of this med school with (Interruption in tape.) ... reach this minute. And you can have it any place in North Carolina, but would you rather have it on the streets of Durham, or would

you rather have it here on the beach. And he laughed and said, "Of course you know I'd rather have it on the streets of Durham." And I said, "Well, that's what we're talking about. It's determined... good care is determined by geography, and we can't have the good things in life to not trickle down. That Hoover philosophy doesn't work.

J.B.: How will the outcome of the medical college battle issue affect your own political decisions?

Jenkins: One way or the other, I don't think it's going to matter. Because this is going to be with us for a long time. And here again, I would not run on the medical school, period. I think the only race that we can run... win... really run here, that makes sense, is the infrastructure race. We've got to attack all these things. I say, for example, I'd open every school house in North Carolina, 24 hours a day. You say, well, you know, how could you do that? Let's just turn on the lights. Well, they might destroy the floor. I'd rather destroy the floor than send a kid to jail. Now, one of our big problems in North Carolina is recidivism. The governor tried to do something about it. But the only way to do something about it is to stop it before it starts. And you have kids in these... boredom is a tremendous problem in rural America. Now, when you have kids who have nothing to do except hold up a building on a Sunday, then you wonder why they get in trouble. I think it's remarkable that more don't get into trouble. I would have recreational programs. Now we... our climate is such that we play golf twelve months a year in North Carolina. Every crossroads could have a basketball court with lights on them. Every crossroads could have these things going, a baseball field and so forth. Our gyms should be open. We treat schools as though they're only used for the junior prom and basketball games. They ought to be open to the public. Everyone ought to be able to use these things.

So therefore, we've got to... And you see, what's that going to do with industry? Industry's going to go to places where people aren't in trouble, where people aren't bored. And I'd increase the educational opportunities, the education level of more and more of our kids. I'd get more kids in college. I think we ought to have a system such as Tennessee. Every boy who knocks on a door here, or girl, ought to be admitted. Whether they're eligible or not. You say, well, how could you run a college that way? They're not going to graduate if they're not eligible. But, by darn, they ought to be given a chance to see if they can do it.

J.B.: What was your Marine background?

Jenkins: I was an infantry officer, and then I became a communicator. And I was a member of JASCO. Joint Assault Signal Company. It was our job to come in the beach before the troops got there. On one operation, on Red Beach, I was the only surviving officer.

J.B.: Where was that?

Jenkins: In Guam, the operation. And as a result, they gave me a Bronze Star, because I was the only guy there. I mean, I inherited it in the honor and in the name of the other men. And there's another thing, too. I'm glad you mentioned that, politically. I would do a lot more for our military than we are doing. The military... they're our fourth biggest industry, if not our third. The payroll at Fort Bragg, they tell me, is \$32,000,000 a month. Cherry Point pumps \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000 into the economy of Carteret County. We ought to have going there everything that these people need. A degree granting program on the base, which Bragg has been wanting for ten years and hasn't got it yet. We are moving toward one on LeJeune, Cherry Point. We ought to have an annual job fair for them. You know what a job fair is, don't you? Anyway, you try and put together the employer and employee.



J.B.: Right.

Jenkins: The Marine. We ought to have definitely scheduled a job fair for them. They ought to have permission to come, probably a cut rate, at all of the                    throughout the state. We can afford to do that as a state. Now you say, why do you do that? Because if they were ever to leave us, we'd have a depression the like of which we've never seen in some parts of North Carolina. Because they churn other business. And we've got to direct ourselves. That's got to be one of our big areas, our relationship with our military people. Encourage them to stay here when they retire. We've done that. We've taken step number one. The legislature has passed a bill permitting career military people to get a \$3,000 deduction on their state income tax if they retire in North Carolina. Now that was criticized severely, editorially, by some of our papers. They were singling out one group of people to benefit. But these people are folks who will be an asset to North Carolina. They come here already having their income earned, and they're going to spend this income in our state, and they'll be an asset to us. They come here with skills that cost our federal government billions of dollars to teach. They have a multiplicity of skills from A to Z. Even cowboys are trained - we don't need too many of them in North Carolina - but even the trade of being a cowboy is taught in the military. Electronics, you name it. And we've got to do more with the military...

J.B.: What do... what is the role of the power structure in North Carolina that represents the basic industries in North Carolina, which are basically low-paying industries? Textiles, furniture, tobacco, ceramics. What is their role and political influence in efforts or actions to keep out high wage industry?

Jenkins: Well, we don't have any direct contact with that. The only contact

we had, one of our professors made a vigorous speech regarding the low salaries in textiles, saying that that has been one of the reasons why our per capita income has been kept down. He was criticized severely by some of the leaders in the textile industry. As a matter of fact, I had a phone call from one person wanting to know why I didn't take some action to fire this man. And I reminded him that the academic community doesn't operate that way. Professors are free individuals and they have a right to speak any way they want, and they're responsible to themselves, provided it isn't something that is disastrous to our society or injurious to our society. But he didn't want to buy that at all. He was very angry with me, because I permitted this to happen. And I didn't permit it to happen. The man just said what his studies revealed, that the industry was in trouble in terms of salaries. And he also talked... another professor made a speech on the possibility of a tobacco substitute, which he thought may come from England and may catch on in America, and how it would affect our economy completely. And that we ought to do something about it. Well, whether... the power structure in this case wasn't angry at all, they wanted to know more about it. Is it a reality or isn't it, or is it a scare you're throwing at our people? And they went to study more. But I have no evidence of these things, so therefore it wouldn't be wise for me to comment on it, without being able to substantiate what I'm saying.

J.B.: Is there anything else, Dr. Jenkins?

Jenkins: Well, I do say this, that more people must get into political life in North Carolina, either by running for offices, going to the precincts and working, and being directly involved. Now, I'm talking about the clergy. I'm talking about professors in colleges and teachers in our schools. No one should be barred from our political life. As a matter of fact, it

should be the other way around. They ought to be encouraged. Our ministers and priests and rabbis ought to not only get personally involved in politics, but they ought to encourage leaders in their church to get involved.

There's no point in our bemoaning something we don't like in our society when we've taken no step to change it. And change must be brought about by those people who want to make change. I think that the apathy of the good makes possible a turn to the bad. The philosopher or political scientist who said that was telling the truth, because too often you hear these people in high office either stay absolutely neutral, pretend they're an island unto themselves, pretend problems don't exist, when they should be blazing spokesmen for things. What I'm trying to say is this, here, this is the third largest university in North Carolina. It has a budget of 25,000,000. I'd be remiss if I didn't speak loud and clear for the things that are missing here. Now, in like manner, some of my associates don't agree with this, and they're mighty quiet. They ought to be the big spokesman for things happening in their particular area.

J.B.: Can faculty members here run for public office?

Jenkins: Not only do they run, but I encourage them to. One man ran for Congress, did not win. We have two on the city council. We have two on the Board of Education, one on the county, one on the city. I would call my people and say, well, you can help this if you wanted to, or you can squeeze this person. I wouldn't even think of such a thing. It would be insulting. And I called the person, I called the professor and said, "I just had a call." He was a Republican. "I just had a call from a good Democrat who said I ought to squeeze you." I said, "I think you ought to go out and work harder now, because of that phone call." And he did go out and work harder. But my point is this,...

J.B.: Isn't that policy, though, unusual? Don't, in a sense, don't most colleges, particularly state supported institutions, have restrictions against...

Jenkins: Yes, I believe there it's a restriction of freedom of speech, and it's wrong. How can we possibly preach to our students that you must get into politics, Republican or Democrat. And by the way, I was a speaker at the First District Republican Rally here, took in every county in the east. You say, isn't that strange when they know you may be a Democratic candidate. No, I think it's a compliment when they ask me to be their speaker. And I was a speaker at the Young Republicans meeting here. I introduced Holshouser here before he was governor. People say, "Well, aren't you playing both sides?" NO. I'm playing the Democracy side, because I've told our students that I think you owe it to your children, yourself, to get in, you see. Now, how can I preach this and not practice it? Suppose a kid jumped out and said, "What about you, Chancellor. Are you in politics?" He says, "Well, I'd better not. It's too dirty for me." or "I'm not running."

J.B.: To what do you attribute... this is just one other question, now... To what do you attribute the relatively low black registration in North Carolina, particularly in eastern North Carolina?

Jenkins: Well, in the first place, I think finances has a lot to do with it. In the second place, you're dealing with... as Booker T. Washington said, "We are rising." This is a new ball game for many black families. A new ball game for many poor white families.

J.B.: But it's still... the registration is still lower than in similar counties and areas with similar socioeconomic characteristics in South Carolina and Georgia and Alabama. Why in North Carolina?

Jenkins: We really haven't... because our leadership has not gone out

and worked as hard as they have in other states. I'm satisfied with that.

J.B.: Black leadership?

Jenkins: That's right. I don't think they've worked as hard as they could. I don't think the white leadership has worked as hard as it could. They could have got many more people registered who would have been good Republicans or good Democrats. They could have done it for selfish reasons, or party reasons. And they just have not tried enough on it. I think you've got to work on this thing. And a lot of it has resulted in our giving lip service to things without getting in there and actually working. I think that's been a tragedy, a liberation of our free people... of our young people. They preached a great game but they didn't bother to register. They didn't bother to vote. And we see that on this campus, even. I see it on other campuses. We would have seen many changes if they could have taken the thing seriously.

J.B.: Is there anything... That was our last question.

Jenkins: No, not that I... I don't know if you learned anything this morning.

J.B.: Sure I did.

Jenkins: What?

J.B.: I said, I'm sure I did.

Jenkins: Do you remember ? He was the confidant of about eight presidents, and . People say, "Well, to what do you attribute your success?" He was a very poor guy when he started out, ended up president of Central Railroad and so forth. And he said, "I owe my success to the fact that I've never said no to an invitation to make a speech." I've tried to follow that philosophy, but I run my ass off doing it. I shouldn't do it. Crazy. But I'll go to a Podunk or anyplace else if people ask me to make a speech, and I think that that

doesn't hurt the image of this institution. Maybe it does. Maybe I ought to be not available and, you know, take high level speeches only. But I enjoy people and I enjoy being with people, and it becomes irksome at times but it's a lot of fun. But I'm much happier at a barbecue or a pig picking. You've never been to one, have you?

a big stick, a whole pig, and you turn it around, turn it around, turn it around. Put some slaw here, some brunswick stew here, and you give each guy a fork. And you come and you spear your own meat from the pig, tenderloin or anything. And it's beautiful, delicious meat. And you wash it down with bourbon. You always have bourbon to wash it down with. Teetotalers can have lemonade or something if they don't like bourbon. You drink the bourbon, and bourbon cuts the grease. And you eat the pig and drink the bourbon and you make decisions. And then after everybody's pretty gay and pretty full, you have testimonials. Well, one guy after another jumps up and says, "I'm for this, and I'm for that, and I'm for the med school." And then stands over here a legislator and now, "We want to hear from you." Well, he'd be a damn fool if he wouldn't be for it, under those circumstances.

J.B.: Is a pig picking something peculiar to eastern North Carolina?

Jenkins: It's the only place I've enjoyed it. But that... when we want to have a meeting that really gets something done, we have a pig picking.

J.B.: How many people show up?

Jenkins: Well, last one I was to, I would say there must have been 400. That kind of crowd comes. Very seldom women, unless she's got a reason. She's a Registrar of the Deeds, or she holds some office, it'll be a women... a woman. It'll be 100% pure in terms of the party. In other words, it'll be Democrats. And well, Republicans have their own, a pig picking. And you don't just give... you just don't absent yourself. If

you're having one, you can make it. Because there's where politics... decisions are made.

J.B.: But you basically feel that this 1976 elec... 1972 election, insofar as eastern North Carolina was concerned, was an aberration?

Jenkins: Oh, yes. I don't think it was really a great personal victory for Mr. Holshouser. I think he did his homework,...

J.B.: And you think this Republican intraparty fighting is going to really hurt in the future in the east?

Jenkins: Yes. That's why I'm preaching the big primary, the big primary with the pledge of winner take all. Cause that'll help the east, cause we'll come back strong.

J.B.: How big is the east insofar as North Carolina politics is concerned? What percentage of the total vote comes out of the east?

Jenkins: Oh, gosh. I don't know, but I could find out in a phone call.

J.B.: Jesse Helms carried every county in the east.

Jenkins: So therefore, he's a Republican... he's a Democratic senator as far as I'm concerned. And we're very good friends, so I kid him on that. And he admits it. He says, "Of course, I represent... I can't call myself a Republican senator. I got that label put on... a factor, but I can't... they're illiterate also in other parts of the state.

J.B.: The Voting Rights Act covers the east, doesn't it?

Jenkins: Yes. Well, the fellow doesn't know what it's all about, doesn't read the papers and so forth. He gets a little nervous and he's not going to... This fellow said, "I been working on a fellow all day yesterday trying to get him to register .

J.B.: The east has about 30% of the total vote, comes out of the east.

Jenkins: Yes.

J.B.: The east is defined as, what? Everything east of Wake County?

Jenkins: Everything east of Wake County, that's broadly the east.

J.B.: What has been the effect of television on North Carolina in the last 25 years?

Jenkins: A tremendous effect. I think it made Jesse Helms win the election. I think the courthouse meeting is a thing of the past in terms of being an effective medium for platform. The tube is extremely important, and the extent to which it naturally ought to very, very valuable in elections. People are going to make decisions based on what they see on the tube. We see it right now, even our figures of speech have been changed. Before Watergate, I never heard the expression "at this point in time." Now, everybody and his brother at a little meeting in the church ....